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APPROVED BY ARA:TATODMAN
ARA:FMCNEIL

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, AR

SUBJECT: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ALLARA MEETING WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN

1. ARGENTINE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GUALTER ALLARA, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AJA ESPIL AND MINISTERS JUAN CARLOS ARLIA AND MIGUEL ANGEL ESPECHE GIL CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN ON NOVEMBER 4, 1977. AMBASSADOR CASTRO, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MCNEIL, COUNTRY DIRECTOR ZIMMERMANN AND DESK OFFICER BUMPUS ALSO ATTENDED.

2. AT ALLARA'S REQUEST, HE MET PRIVATELY WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN FOR FIFTEEN MINUTES BEFORE THE GENERAL CONVERSATION BEGAN. DURING THIS PRIVATE MEETING ALLARA ASKED FOR THE U. S. TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO BE TAKEN UP DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT:

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ARGENTINA PROJECT (S20000044)
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS
Margaret P. Grafeld, Director
(X) Release () Excise () Deny
Exemption(s): _____
Declassify: () In Part (X) In Full
() Classify as _ () Extend as _ () Downgrade to _
Date _____ Declassify on _____ Reason _____

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A. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE: THE ARGENTINES RECOGNIZE THE U. S. GENERALLY DOES NOT FAVOR JOINT COMMUNIQUES BUT FEEL THE VISIT SHOULD BE HIGHLIGHTED BY A JOINT STATEMENT. IT SHOULD STRESS THE WILLINGNESS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES TO COOPERATE TO SOLVE COMMON PROBLEMS.

B. DISCUSSION ON TERRORISM: ALLARA POINTED OUT THAT THERE IS A GROWING WORLDWIDE CONSENSUS THAT TERRORISM IS A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT SOMETHING SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT IT NOW. WE SHOULD CONSIDER WAYS IN WHICH THE TWO QUESTIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND TERRORISM, CAN BE JOINTLY DISCUSSED.

C. CLARIFICATION OF U. S. POSITION ON IFIS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA: IN JUNE, THE U. S. ABSTAINED BUT EXPLAINED ITS VOTE ON AN ARGENTINE LOAN IN THE IBRD, STRESSING IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ARGENTINA. YET, IN OCTOBER THE U. S. VOTED NO ON ARGENTINE IDB LOAN REQUEST IN THE FACE OF GREATER IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. THIS IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND; ARGENTINA WOULD LIKE US TO EXPLAIN OUR VIEWS AND INTENTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. AMBASSADOR TODMAN EXPLAINED OUR CRITERIA OF VOTING YES ON LOANS FOR THE NEEDY, BUT WARNED THAT OTHER ARGENTINE LOANS IN THE IFIS COULD FACE PROBLEMS.

D. MILITARY SALES: MANY ARGENTINES FAVOR CONTINUING PURHASES OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT BUT THERE ARE OTHERS WHO ARE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING PURCHASING MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM OTHER SOURCES IF THE U. S. IS UNWILLING TO SUPPLY IT. THIS QUESTION IS CREATING DIVISIONS WITHIN THE ARGENTINE MILITARY, AND THEY WISH TO KNOW WHAT CRITERIA THE U. S. WILL APPLY TO MILITARY SALES TO ARGENTINA.

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E. MALVINAS: ALLARA STATED THAT ARGENTINA WAS CONCERNED THAT AN INCIDENT COULD DEVELOP. THERE IS ANOTHER MEETING WITH THE BRITISH IN DECEMBER, AND THEY WANT US TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE U.K. TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH AS THE U. S. DID WITH PANAMA ON THE CANAL.

3. DURING THE GENERAL DISCUSSION, THE PRINCIPLE TOPIC WAS THE SECRETARY'S VISIT AND THE ITEMS HE WOULD DISCUSS

TO FONMIN MONTES AS A MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY VANCE.

3. RESPONDING TO GENERAL OBSERVATIONS THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION CONTINUED TO BE CRITICAL, ESPECHE GIL, NORMALLY A TACITURN INDIVIDUAL, MADE A FORCEFUL AND ALMOST EMOTIONAL DENIAL THAT SITUATION HAD NOT IMPROVED. HE SAID THERE WERE MANY EVIDENCES OF IMPROVEMENT IN RESPONSE TO SPECIAL GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TOWARD THIS END. HE PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RIGHT OF OPTION, SAYING THAT IT WAS A SERIOUS AND GENEROUS MEASURE OF WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT WAS MOST PROUD. HE ASSERTED THAT IT WILL HAVE MAJOR RESULTS AND THAT CRITICISM OF THE MEASURE IS ENTIRELY UNFAIR BECAUSE ITS PROCEDURES HAVE NOT YET HAD EVEN THE MINIMUM TIME TO BE TESTED. WITH REGARD TO SERRAT HE RESPONDED THAT HE WAS FREE AND HOME NOW. WITH REGARD TO THE EXTRAJUDICIAL TREATMENT OF TIMERMAN, HE SAID THAT TIMERMAN WAS DEALT WITH UNDER A GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL REFORM MEASURE OF THE REVOLUTION AND HIS TREATMENT WAS NOT DISCRIMINATORY. HE WAS MOST EMPHATIC IN ASSERTING THAT THERE WAS NO ELEMENT OF RACISM IN THE TREATMENT ACCORDED TO TIMERMAN. (HE DID NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF LACK OF PROGRESS ON DETAINEES. THE DEUTSCHES' DETENTION HAS NOW BEEN REGULARIZED BY PLACING THEM UNDER THE EXECUTIVE POWER, AND MENDEZ AND HIS SON WERE RELEASED YESTERDAY.) ESPECHE CONCLUDED THAT SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT WOULD PROVIDE HIM AN OPPORTUNITY TO VERIFY THAT ARGENTINA HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY MOVING TOWARD NORMALITY.

4. NUCLEAR MATTERS:

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IN MEETINGS ON SUNDAY AND MONDAY GREAT CARE WAS GIVEN TO DESCRIPTION OF WHICH ACTIONS WOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH WHICH TECHNOLOGY AND/OR EXPORTS. THE MATTER OF A POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING (PARA 6 REFTEL) WAS SCARCELY DISCUSSED. THE TWO-STAGE APPROACH WAS DESCRIBED IN DETAIL AND WRITTEN OUT BY THE ARGENTINES TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDING. ESPECHE GIL INDICATED THAT GOA POSITION WOULD

BE WORKED OUT WITH ARGENTINE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION AND WE UNDERSTAND THIS TO HAVE BEEN THE CASE.

5. IN RESPONDING TO PRESENTATION OF POINTS 6 THROUGH 8 OF REFTEL, ESPECHE EMPHASIZED THAT GOA HAD IN NO WAY ALTERED ITS DISPOSITION TO RATIFY TREATY OF TLATELOLCO, AND THAT WHILE THE TREATY HAD NOT YET BEEN SUBMITTED TO LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY COMMISSION FOR THE NECESSARY APPROVAL, GOA CONTINUED TO INTEND TO DO SO. WHEN PRESSED ON AGREEMENT ON FIRST STAGE (PARA 8), HE RETREATED TO GENERALITIES, SAYING THAT GOA HOPED TO HAVE WIDEST RANGING DISCUSSIONS DURING VISIT. WHEN ASKED IF GOA COULD BE DESCRIBED AS DECLINING TO AGREE TO STAGE ONE, HE SAID HE WOULD GIVE US VERBATIM TEXT OF GOA POSITION IN RESPONSE TO US PROPOSALS.

5. TEXT PROVIDED AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA CONTINUES TO BE FULLY DISPOSED TO RATIFY THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO. THERE IS NO CHANGE IN ITS POSITION. THE POINTS EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT VIDELA TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND BY SUBSECRETARY ALLARA IN WASHINGTON TEN DAYS AGO CONTINUE VALID. IT IS

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PRECISELY THE ARGENTINE INTEREST THAT BOTH NUCLEAR TOPICS--THE TREATY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION--BE DEALT WITH IN DEPTH DURING SECRETARY'S VISIT. END TEXT.

6. WHEN HE WAS PRESSED THAT ARGENTINE STATEMENT WAS NOT HIGHLY RESPONSIVE, ESPECHE REQUESTED

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A REVIEW OF DETAILS OF STAGE ONE AND TWO, PARTICULARLY PARA 8. HE SAID THAT, NOT BEING AN EXPERT IN A TECHNICAL SUBJECT, HE WISHED TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT HIS PREVIOUS DESCRIPTION OF THE US POSITION WAS CLEAR. WHILE HE THOUGH IT HAD BEEN, HE REQUESTED THAT DCM DEFER TRANSMITTAL OF GOA POSITION UNTIL 2 P.M. WASHINGTON TIME TODAY SO THAT HE COULD RECHECK WITH INTERESTED AGENCIES TO ASSURE THAT QUOTED TEXT WAS PRECISE RESPONSE THEY WISHED TO MAKE TO US DEMARCHE.

COMMENT: AS IS CLEAR FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH ESPECHE, MFA WANTS TO GIVE US IMPRESSION THAT GOA IS WELL-DISPOSED TO SIGNATURE OF TLATELOLCO TREATY AND THAT THERE ARE NO FORESEEABLE POLITICAL OR TECHNICAL PROBLEMS. IT IS ALSO EQUALLY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE MFA IS UNWILLING TO COMMIT ITSELF IN ADVANCE OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO SPECIFIC STAGE ONE PROPOSAL OUTLINED REFTEL -- AN INDICATION THAT THE GOA DOES WANT SOME CONDITIONS SATISFIED OR CONCESSIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES IN RETURN FOR AGREEMENT TO INITIATE RATIFICATION PROCESS OF TLATELOLCO TREATY IN ARGENTINA. WITHOUT SPECIFICS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE JUST HOW FAR

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GOA IS WILLING TO GO TO MEET OUR CONDITIONS. ALL THE EVIDENCE UP UNTIL NOW SUGGESTS THAT MAIN ARGENTINE OBJECTIVE IN NUCLEAR FIELD IS TO OBTAIN

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HEAVY WATER TECHNOLOGY SO THAT ARGENTINA CAN ACHIEVE A FULLY INDEPENDENT FUEL CYCLE. IN PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS, THEY HAVE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE UNWILLING TO PAY THE PRICE OF DEFERRING REPROCESSING. THE QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER THEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO PLAY THEIR MAIN ACCEPTABLE CARD -- RATIFICATION OF TLATELOLCO TREATY -- IN RETURN FOR THE LESS IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF OBTAINING AN ASSURED SUPPLY OF HEAVY WATER AND HEU FOR THEIR RESEARCH REACTORS. EVEN IF THE GOA AGREED TO STAGE ONE, THERE WOULD STILL BE A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER RATIFICATION WOULD BE APPROVED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ADVISORY COUNCIL, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS HAD A HIGHLY NATIONALISTIC BENT AND WHICH HAS SHOWN ITSELF TO BE HIGHLY INDEPENDENT BY REJECTING THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS (IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE, PERHAPS WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S OWN BLESSING). MOREOVER, THERE IS THE QUESTION WHETHER THE GOA IS WILLING TO WAIVE PROVISIONS OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TLATELOLCO TREATY. STORY REPORTED REF B SUGGESTS THAT SOME ARGENTINES (AND PROBABLY CNEA SOURCE OF THE STORY) BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO MEET THE CONDITIONS OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TREATY BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION FROM SUCH COUNTRIES AS THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA AND THAT THEREFORE IT WILL BE A LONG TIME, IF EVER, BEFORE TREATY IS BINDING ON ARGENTINA.
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